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Working from home, work–family conflict, and the role of gender and gender role attitudes

Abstract

Previous studies have shown that societal norms around gender roles can shape gender-based outcomes of working from home. This paper extends these findings to see how individuals’ gender role attitudes can moderate the relationship between working from home and work–family conflict, but again with varying outcomes for men and women. We use data from around 3150 employees who participated in wave 10 (2017–2018) of the German Family Panel Survey (pairfam). Results suggest that compared to employees with fixed work locations, those who work from home report higher levels of family-to-work conflict, but not higher work-to-family conflict. Positive associations between working from home and both types of work–family conflict are found only for women, not for men. Specifically, the positive association between working from home and family-to-work conflict is mainly present among women with traditional gender role attitudes, while the positive association between working from home and work-to-family conflict is mainly present among women with egalitarian gender role attitudes. No such variation, however, was found for men. This study highlights the importance of taking gender and gender role attitudes into account when examining the consequences of working from home.

Key words: Flexible working, work from home, gender, gender role attitudes, work-to-family conflict, family-to-work conflict

1. Introduction

An increasing number of German employees are now able to work from home—by one estimate, up to 57% of all jobs in Germany can be done from home (Alipour et al., 2020). Yet despite workers' growing demand for and interest in working from home (also called flexible working), it can also produce negative outcomes for workers and their well-being, one of which is work–family conflict. Prior research on the effect of working from home on work–family conflict is inconsistent. Some research has found that working from home decreases work-to-family and family-to-work conflict (Byron, 2005; Madsen, 2003), other studies found no significant relationship (Mesmer-Magnus and Viswesvaran, 2006), and still others concluded that working from home may actually increase (rather than decrease) work–family conflict (e.g., van der Lippe and Lippényi, 2020; Golden et al., 2006; Schieman and Young, 2010; Erden Bayazit and Bayazit, 2019). The blurring of boundaries can also lead to the expansion of family/domestic work (Sullivan and Lewis, 2001) and workers' feeling that family demands conflict with work (Golden et al., 2006; Voydanoff, 2005).

According to the work/family border theory (Clark, 2000), the degree to which one domain contracts or expands depends on which domain the individual identifies most with. Due to prevailing gender norms in most contemporary societies, where men are considered the main breadwinners and women the caregivers (Knight and Brinton, 2017), flexible working can result in the expansion of work for men and the expansion of family life/care roles for women (Chung and Van der Lippe, 2020; Clawson and Gerstel, 2014; Kim, 2020). This is especially true in countries where societal gender norms are more traditional (Kurowska, 2020). However, it's less clear whether individual attitudes toward gender roles, rather than collective social norms around gender, shape the outcomes of flexible working.

Overall, we expect the gender role attitudes (GRAs) of the individual to moderate the association between working from home and two types of work–family conflict (i.e., work-

to-family conflict [WTFC] and family-to-work conflict [FTWC]). In this study, we compare employees who work from home to those who have fixed work locations, in terms of their WTFC and FTWC. To our knowledge, ours is the first study to specifically explore how working from home impacts WTFC and FTWC while testing the moderating roles of gender and GRAs at the individual level, both separately and jointly.

We expect GRAs to change individuals' behavioural outcomes when they work from home, in terms of how much more paid work or housework they end up doing (see also, Schober, 2013). Similarly, following previous studies of work–family conflict (Zhao et al., 2019), we expect GRAs to shape how individuals process the outcomes of flexible working on work–family conflict. In other words, GRAs shape which domain individuals see the conflict as coming from and where the problem lies. The role the individual perceives they are mainly responsible for—either breadwinning or caregiving—shapes how they perceive and respond to family demands conflicting with work demands or work demands conflicting with family demands.

Further, it is important to explore this question within the German context. Germany, known to be one of the most conservative welfare states, is characterized by relatively low employment among women as well as by traditional GRAs, with the male breadwinner model dominant (Esping-Andersen, 2006). While traditional GRAs are becoming less important in Germany (Blohm and Walter, 2016) and maternal employment is growing, women's labour force participation and support for working mothers are still low, especially in West Germany (compared to East Germany; cf. Blohm and Walter, 2016; Lott and Klenner, 2018). This makes Germany an interesting place to explore the interaction between gender (social norms around gender) and individuals' GRAs, and to test how they moderate the relationship between working from home and work–family conflict.

Using data from wave 10 (2017–2018) of the German Family Panel survey (pairfam), a nationwide random sampling of anchor persons, their spouses/partners, and their children, funded by the German Research Foundation (Brüderl et al., 2019; Huinink et al., 2011), we ask the following research questions: (1) Does working from home have an effect on WTFC (and FTWC)? (2) Does gender moderate these main effects where the effects vary between men and women? (3) Do gender and GRAs jointly moderate the relationship between working from home and WTFC (and FTWC)?

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Working from home and work–family conflict

Greenhaus and Beutel (1985), using the role conflict theory by Kahn et al. (1964), defined work–family conflict as a conflict coming from the opposing pressures of work roles and family roles that are mutually incompatible in some respects. More specifically, work–family conflict occurs when one's participation in a work role inhibits one's participation in a family role (work-to-family conflict), or when family roles inhibit performance at work (family-to-work conflict) (Allen et al., 2013). We examine both WTFC and FTWC in this paper.

Working from home is a type of teleworking, where workers are given the freedom to work outside their normal work premises (Allen et al., 2015). In this study, we focus on workers who are working from home or have the *possibility to* work from home, comparing them to those who work in fixed workspaces. Although having the possibility to work from home is different from working from home (full-time), we see from previous studies that even having access to flexible working can have a significant impact on workers' work–life balance outcomes (Chung and Van der Horst, 2018; Chung and Van der Horst, 2020), as long

as it is real access rather than formal access limited to the company policy level (Eaton, 2003; Cooper and Baird, 2015).

Job demands and resources theory (Bakker and Geurts, 2004; Voydanoff, 2005) and work-family border theory (Clark, 2000) both suggest that workers can better balance work and family demands when they have control over their work and are able to shape the boundaries between their work and family life. On one hand, if workers can exert more control over their work and increase their capacity to do both work and housework/care, working from home could potentially relieve work–family conflict (e.g., Kelly et al., 2014; Erickson et al., 2010). However, on the other hand, it can also increase work–family conflict in both directions: by enabling workers to fulfil both work and family roles at the same time, it can increase feelings that work is interfering with family life and that family demands are inhibiting work roles (Sullivan and Lewis, 2001; Allen et al., 2015; Gajendran and Harrison, 2007).

In addition, working from home tends to increase work hours/overtime (Lott, 2019; Glass and Noonan, 2016) and work intensity (Kelliher and Anderson, 2010). This is partly because teleworking is provided to workers to enhance productivity or enable more work to be done (Allen et al., 2015). Along similar lines, those working from home may need to work harder to avoid penalties for being away from the office (Cristea and Leonardi, 2019; Williams et al., 2013; Bloom et al., 2015). Increases in both work hours and work intensity can increase the conflict workers feel between work and family demands, especially the feeling that work encroaches on family life. Similarly, working from home may increase the amount of housework and childcare that workers carry out (Lott, 2019; Kurowska, 2020) or increase others' expectations of what flexible workers can do (Sullivan and Lewis, 2001; Hilbrecht et al., 2008). This can increase the feeling that family demands prevent workers from carrying out their work.

Working from home may also increase work–family conflict through its spill-over or blurring effects (Schieman and Young, 2010). When the boundary between work and other aspects of life/family becomes more permeable, this may increase rather than decrease conflicts (Kossek et al., 2006). Flexible working has been linked to work–family conflict, not only due to work hours spilling over to family spheres, as mentioned above, but also due to mental spill-over, i.e., worrying or thinking about work when not at work (Lott, 2020). In fact, studies have shown that working from home can potentially increase work–family conflict because it blurs physical and often temporal boundaries (e.g., Golden et al., 2006; Kossek et al., 2006). In this case, the blurring of boundaries may increase feelings of family inhibiting work demands as well as work encroaching on family life. In fact, prior research suggests that working from home is associated with higher levels of FTWC (Golden et al., 2006; Voydanoff, 2005) and to a lesser extent with higher levels of WTFC (Schieman and Young, 2010). Since there is more support for the positive association between working from home and work–family conflict than for the negative association (see the review in van der Lippe and Lippényi, 2020); we form the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: Those who work from home will report higher WTFC compared to those who have fixed work locations.

Hypothesis 1b: Those who work from home will report higher FTWC compared to those who have fixed work locations.

2.2 Variation across gender and gender role attitudes

Prior research has argued that working from home blurs the boundaries between work and family differently for men and women (Chung and Van der Lippe, 2020). Despite trends toward more egalitarian gender norms, in most societies, including Germany, women are expected to be responsible for childcare and housework whilst men are still considered

responsible for breadwinning (Knight and Brinton, 2017). Thus, it is mostly women who do and are expected to do more housework/care when they work from home (Sullivan and Lewis, 2001; Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Kim, 2020). On the other hand, when men work from home, they do and are expected to work longer (overtime) hours (Chung and Van der Horst, 2020; Lott and Chung, 2016). For example, a recent German study has shown that women who work from home increased their childcare hours by 3 hours a week compared to those who do not work from home, while men increased their overtime hours (Lott, 2019). In this respect, we can expect working from home to lead to work encroaching on family life for men (i.e., WTFC) and family roles inhibiting work roles for women (i.e., FTWC).

Along the same lines, men are generally expected to not let their family responsibilities interfere with work demands, though this expectation varies by country (Kurowska, 2020) and workplace context (van der Lippe and Lippényi, 2020). Of course, women may also experience work expansion when working flexibly (Chung and Van der Horst, 2018; Glass and Noonan, 2016), with work encroaching on their family life (i.e., WTFC). However, unlike men who may prioritise work above family responsibilities and may not experience this as WTFC, women may feel that their work conflicts with family duties. This is especially true in Germany, where women are expected to still be largely responsible for family. In this case, we could also expect women to experience more WTFC when working from home (van der Lippe and Lippényi, 2020). Considering all these arguments and the context of Germany, we formulate the following two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2a: The positive association between working from home and WTFC will be stronger for women.

Hypothesis 2b: The positive association between working from home and FTWC will be stronger for women.

We can expect different associations between working from home and work–family conflict when we consider the GRAs of the individuals. However, the direction of the relationship will depend on whether we expect GRAs to primarily change individuals' behaviours or primarily impact the way individuals process the conflict, namely by changing which domain individuals locate as the conflict's origin.

First, if we only consider GRAs changing the behavioural outcomes of working from home, we expect men with traditional GRAs to experience more WTFC and women with traditional GRAs to experience more FTWC. Men with traditional GRAs are more likely to focus their identity around their breadwinning role compared to men with egalitarian GRAs, and thus are more likely to adhere to the "work devotion schema" (Blair-Loy, 2009) when working from home. Therefore, men with traditional GRAs are more likely to increase their working hours/intensity when working from home, which can in turn increase feelings that work encroaches on family life (i.e., WTFC). On the other hand, men with egalitarian GRAs may increase their family roles when working from home, increasing their likelihood of feeling FTWC when working from home, especially compared to men with traditional GRAs.

When we consider behavioural outcome changes due to GRAs, compared to women with egalitarian GRAs, women with traditional GRAs may be more likely to try to carry out more housework/care duties when working from home (Zhao et al., 2019). This is again because they are more likely to identify with their caregiving/homemaking roles, so they will use the flexibility and permeable boundaries allowed by working from home to adhere to these ideals. This is why we expect women with traditional GRAs to perceive that family roles inhibit work roles (i.e., FTWC). Similarly, we expect women with egalitarian GRAs to be more likely to expand their work when working from home. Thus, compared to women with traditional GRAs, women with egalitarian GRAs will be more likely to feel WTFC when working from home.

We may, however, see the opposite associations if we consider GRAs to primarily change the way individuals process the conflict rather than changing the behavioural outcomes of working from home. Zhao et al. (2019) argued that GRAs can not only change how individuals respond to the conflict between work and family roles, but also how individuals understand where the problem lies. In other words, workers' attitudinal perspectives will influence what they consider their ideal scenarios of work-life balance, and thus colour their perceptions of work–family conflict (see also, Milkie et al., 2002; Erden Bayazit and Bayazit, 2019).

In a context like Germany where social norms expect women to be mainly responsible for housework/care roles, women may end up having to do the bulk of the housework and care when working from home, resulting in similar behavioural outcomes for both women with traditional and egalitarian GRAs. However, for women with egalitarian GRAs, this may result in the feeling that family responsibilities conflict with work roles when working from home. Women with more traditional GRAs, who prioritise family responsibilities above work roles, may feel like their capacity to combine both their work and family roles is enhanced by working from home, reducing conflict between the two roles.

At the time of data collection (2017–2018), working from home was not widespread and may have been the target of social stigmas, e.g., those who work from home are not as productive or committed, and they hinder work for others who do not work flexibly (Williams et al., 2013; Chung, 2020). In this sense, working from home could potentially lead to additional hours of work for both men and women (Glass and Noonan, 2016). If GRAs generally shape the attitudinal elements of how individuals perceive conflict, we expect that women with traditional GRAs will be especially likely to feel WTFC when working from home. This is because they are more likely to feel that their role mainly lies in being

responsible for ensuring household tasks are managed, and they may perceive work as preventing them from doing so when the boundaries are blurred.

Studies have shown that especially in more traditional cultures, men may be likely to feel a double stigma of "femininity stigma" when they work from home (Rudman and Mescher, 2013; Vandello et al., 2013). In other words, men working from home risk deviating from the masculine image of a breadwinner, as well as from the ideal worker norm of someone who works long hours in the office (Williams, 1999). Accordingly, all men, including those with egalitarian GRAs, may need to work harder and longer when working from home to overcome this stigmatised image of themselves. This can lead to men with egalitarian GRAs feeling higher levels of WTFC because they are unable to meet their desired engagement in housework and care (Working Families, 2017). On the other hand, working longer hours may not conflict with the ideal work–life balance scenarios men with traditional GRAs have. Thus, they are unlikely to feel WTFC, especially compared to men with egalitarian GRAs. Putting all these complexities together, we come to the following two sets of contrasting hypotheses around how GRAs can shape the association between working from home, WTFC, and FTWC:

Hypothesis 3a: The positive association between working from home and WTFC will be stronger for men with traditional GRAs (women with egalitarian GRAs), compared to men with egalitarian GRAs (women with traditional GRAs).

Hypothesis 3b: The positive association between working from home and WTFC will be stronger for men with egalitarian GRAs (women with traditional GRAs), compared to men with traditional GRAs (women with egalitarian GRAs).

Hypothesis 4a: The positive association between working from home and FTWC will be stronger for men with egalitarian GRAs (women with traditional GRAs), compared to men with traditional GRAs (women with egalitarian GRAs).

Hypothesis 4b: The positive association between working from home and FTWC will be stronger for men with traditional GRAs (women with egalitarian GRAs), compared to men with egalitarian GRAs (women with traditional GRAs).

3. Data and Sample

This study uses data from wave 10 (2017–2018) of the German Family Panel survey (pairfam; Brüderl et al., 2019). A detailed description of the study can be found in Huinink et al. (2011). The survey started in 2008–2009, collecting information from a nationwide, random sample of 12,402 anchor persons (i.e., main respondents) from three age cohorts: 1971–1973, 1981–1983, and 1991–1993. This survey has a multi-actor design where the main respondents are asked at every wave for permission to interview their partners, parents, and children who are 8-14 years old. By Wave 10, 4750 anchors remained in the survey. Given our research focus, we excluded 836 individuals in this group who are not employed. We next excluded 329 self-employed individuals, as they likely differ in their work locations as well as in control over their working hours, compared to those who work for an employer (Parasuraman and Simmers, 2001; Prottas and Thompson, 2006). We also dropped 438 individuals who reported changing work locations.[1] This left us with a sample of 3147 individuals. Lastly, we dropped the cases with missing data on our outcome measures (i.e., 8 cases with missing information on WTFC and 14 with missing information on FTWC). This resulted in a final sample size of 3139 and 3133 individuals, all of whom worked for an employer at the time of the interview, for the models predicting WTFC and FTWC, respectively.

3.1 Dependent variable

This study focuses on the bidirectional nature of work–family conflict as the dependent variable (i.e., WTFC and FTWC). WTFC is measured by asking respondents to what extent four statements apply to them. One sample item is: "My work prevents me from doing things with my friends, partner, and family more than I'd like." The answers range from 1=*not at all* to 5=*absolutely*. Cronbach's alpha is 0.77, indicating high internal reliability.

FTWC is measured by asking respondents to what extent four statements apply to them. One sample item is: "Because I am often under stress in my private life, I have problems concentrating on my work." The answers range from 1=*not at all* to 5=*absolutely*. Cronbach's alpha is 0.72, indicating high internal reliability. Consistent with prior research, the scales for WTFC and FTWC are each created by adding four items and taking the average, where higher numbers indicate higher WTFC and FTWC, respectively (Glavin and Schieman, 2012; Grzywacz et al., 2002). Please see the Appendix for all the items in these two scales.

3.2 Independent variable

The main independent variable is *working from home.* This is measured by asking the following question: "Some people always work at the same location, while others change their working location, and yet others work directly from home. How is this for you, where do you work most of the time?" We create a dummy variable for *working from home* which includes those who report either 1) "always working from home" or 2) "unchanging work location with the possibility of working from home (home-office)." As mentioned earlier, previous studies have found that having access to working from home can have a significant impact on an individual's work-life balance, so we combine the two answers. We also

consider that those who work from home occasionally choose answer #2. We compare this group to those who report having a *fixed work location* (i.e., those with "unchanging work location without the possibility of working from home").

3.4 Moderating variables

We use gender and GRAs as the moderators in this study. Gender is measured as a dummy variable (female=1, male=0). Pairfam has four questions addressing GRAs (see the Appendix for the full list). One sample item is: "A child aged under 6 will suffer from having a working mother." Answer options for each question range from 1 (*disagree completely*) to 5 (*agree completely*). Cronbach's alpha for the four items, however, is very low (0.45), so it is insufficient to create a scale based on these items or any subset of them, a problem also presented in some prior research (Hudde, 2020; Nitsche and Grunow, 2018). With full consideration that GRAs can be multi-dimensional (Knight and Brinton, 2017; Erden Bayazit and Bayazit, 2019; Chung and Schober, 2018), and consistent with prior research (Hudde, 2020), we decided not to create an index. Instead, following the approach by Nitsche and Grunow (2018), we only used the sample item above to measure GRAs. This item is reverse coded, so a higher number indicates a more egalitarian GRA. This item measures "maternal employment ideology" and we believe this item best relates to our outcome of work–family conflict. Consistent with prior research, on a Likert scale of five response categories on attitudes, those who answer 1 or 2 (either agreeing completely or agreeing respectively) are coded as traditional, and those who answer 4 or 5 (either disagreeing completely or disagreeing respectively) are coded as egalitarian GRAs (following Nitsche and Grunow, 2018). Finally, as supported by prior research, those who answer 3 (i.e,, the middle answer category) represents moderate attitudes (i.e., moderate GRAs) (Krosnick and Fabrigar 1997; Menold and Bogner, 2016).[2] We tested the validity of this item by using

the other three alternative items for GRA for robustness checks. The results from these robustness checks are presented in the Appendix (see also Tables A and B in the Appendix). In addition, some alternative tests were conducted to show the validity of this item for measuring GRAs.[3]

3.5 Control variables

Consistent with prior research examining the association between working from home and work–family conflict (e.g., Michel et al., 2011; van der Lippe and Lippényi, 2020), this study controls for the following variables: age (continuous)[4], education (whether the respondent has completed a university degree or a higher education entrance qualification), work hours per week (continuous), marital status (1=married or in a civil union, 0=not), logged household income (net income of the respondent from last month), presence of preschool children in the household (whether the respondent has a child younger than 6 years old living in the household; yes=1, no=0)[5], number of children living in the household (0, 1, or 2 or more), nonstandard work hours (whether the respondent works during the evenings/nights and/or on weekends; 1=yes, 0=no), professional/managerial occupation (1=yes, 0=no), job workload ("I often have to deal with too heavy workloads." The answers range from 1=*disagree completely* to 5=*agree completely*), flextime (having non-fixed daily working hours; 1=yes, 0=no)[6], having a spouse/partner who is employed (1=yes, 0=no), having a temporary employment contract (1=yes, 0=no), living in East Germany (1=yes, 0=no) and ethnicity (1=German native with no migration background, 0=everyone else).[7]

3.6 Analytical strategy

The analyses in this paper are estimated using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression via STATA 14.0. Models that predict WTFC and FTWC are estimated separately

in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. For each outcome, we first test the direct effect of working from home on WTFC and FTWC, net of all the control variables (Model 1). Next, the interaction terms between gender and working from home are added, to test whether the direct effect of work location on WTFC and FTWC is moderated by gender (Model 2). Finally, three-way interaction terms between gender, GRAs, and working from home are added (Model 3). Specifically, Model 3 tests whether the moderation of GRAs in explaining the relationship between working from home and WTFC (and FTWC) is different for men and women.

4. Results

4.1 Descriptive findings

We first present the descriptive findings of the dependent variable, independent variable, and all control variables, separately by gender (see Table 1). On average, men report higher levels of WTFC (average of 2.35 on a scale from 1–5) than women (average of 2.29 on a scale from 1–5). There is, however, no significant difference between men and women in the reports of FTWC. On average, significantly more men (compared to women) either work from home or have the possibility of working from home (23 versus 18 percent). On average, more men report having traditional GRAs (24 versus 13 percent) whereas more women report having egalitarian GRAs (61 versus 47 percent). There was no gender difference in the percentage of those who report moderate GRAs between men and women.

For the control variables, significantly more women (compared to men) report being married (51 versus 43 percent). Men on average work longer hours per week than women (40 versus 32 hours), but there is no significant gender difference in their perceived job workloads. More men reported having a preschool child in the household compared to women (21 versus 15 percent). Women in our sample are slightly older than men, whereas

men report more household income than women. Women report having more children in the household than men. More women report having an employed partner compared to men. More men work in professional or managerial occupations than women (27 versus 17 percent) and more men are German natives (84 versus 81 percent). Similar numbers of men and women have access to flextime, are in temporary employment, have higher education, work shift work hours, and live in East Germany.

Overall, the characteristics of the sample in this study are consistent with prior research and census data, which suggests that despite improvements, Germany differs from other European countries by being a traditional society with evidence of gender inequality. This can be shown by the significant gender differences in participation in the labor market, the percentage of professional/managerial occupations, and work hours (Schrenker and Zucco, 2020; see the review in Hipp and Bünning, 2021).

[Table 1]

4.2 Predicting work-to-family conflict

Table 2 shows the models predicting WTFC. The results in Model 1 show that there is no difference in the levels of WTFC between those who work from home and those with fixed work locations. Hypothesis 1a is not supported. The positive and significant interaction term between working from home and gender in Model 2 ($b=0.227$, $SE=0.068$, $p<.001$), along with the marginal effects plot (see Figure A in the Appendix), indicates that working from home increases WTFC more for women than for men. In fact, the effect of working from home on WTFC is significant for both men and women, but the effect is in the negative direction for men. Thus, Hypothesis 2a is supported. This result also mirrors other studies in the field (e.g., van der Lippe and Lippényi, 2020), where women's work–life balance is impacted more by working conditions. This may be due to their dual responsibility of

meeting both work and family demands, or possibly due to differences in their levels of work–life ideals. Finally, despite the insignificant three-way interactions between working from home, gender, and GRAs in Model 3, the marginal effects plot (see Figure 1) indicates that working from home increases WTFC more among women with egalitarian GRAs than among women with traditional GRAs (there is no variation among men). Thus, Hypothesis 3a is partially supported whereas Hypothesis 3b is not supported.

In terms of the control variables, respondents with non-fixed daily working hours and longer work hours report higher WTFC. Older workers report lower WTFC. Those who have higher education, work in professional or managerial occupations, work shift hours, or have temporary employment report higher WTFC. Finally, those with egalitarian or moderate GRAs report lower WTFC compared to traditional GRA workers (see the full table, Table E, in the Appendix).

[Table 2]

[Figure 1]

4.3 Predicting family-to-work conflict

Table 3 shows the models predicting FTWC. The results show in Model 1 that those who work from home report higher FTWC compared to those with fixed work locations ($b=0.096$, $SE=0.030$, $p<.01$). Thus, Hypothesis 1b is supported. The positive and significant interaction term between working from home and gender in Model 2 indicates that working from home increases FTWC more for women than for men ($b=0.110$, $SE=0.055$, $p<.05$). In fact, as shown in the marginal effects plot (see Figure B in the Appendix), the effect of working from home on FTWC is not significant for men. Thus, Hypothesis 2b is supported.

Finally, there are two significant three-way interaction terms between working from home, gender, and GRAs. The results in our models show that working from home increases

FTWC more for women with traditional GRAs, compared to women with moderate GRAs (b=-0.424, SE=0.190, p<.05) and egalitarian GRAs (b=-0.394, SE=0.168, p<.05). In fact, as shown by the marginal effects plot (see Figure 2), the association found between working from home and FTWC is largely driven by women with traditional GRAs, while no such association is found for women with moderate GRAs. The positive association is only marginally significant among women with egalitarian GRAs. In addition, we do not find such variation for men. These results show that Hypothesis 4a is partially supported whereas Hypothesis 4b is not supported.

Out of the control variables, those who are married, work longer hours, and have egalitarian GRAs report lower FTWC. Those who have a preschool child in the household, as well as those with a temporary employment contract, a higher workload, and jobs in professional or managerial occupations report higher FTWC (see the full table, Table F, in the Appendix).

[Table 3]

[Figure 2]

5. Discussion and conclusion

This article examined whether the association between working from home and work–family conflict varies not only based on gender but on the individual's GRAs. The results of our analysis show that although at first glance there is no clear association between working from home and WTFC, further analysis shows that the association varies across gender. This positive effect of working from home on WTFC was stronger for women than men, a gendered effect consistent with prior research (Chung & van der Lippe, 2020; Hagqvist et al., 2017; van der Lippe and Lippényi, 2020). In fact, further analysis concluded that working from home reduced WTFC for men. This opposite direction for men could be

due to men sharing less of the housework and family-related activities while also not experiencing the time pressure that is negatively associated with working from home (Darouei and Pluut, 2021).

Further, our results showed that working from home increased WTFC among women with egalitarian GRAs whereas it increased FTWC among women with traditional GRAs. These associations were not found among men. Both findings are consistent with the rational viewpoint perspective (Gutek et al., 1991), which argues that energy and time spent in one domain might limit the amount of time spent in the other domain. Considering this, it is expected that additional housework and childcare, which often emerge as a consequence of working from home for women (Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Erden Bayazit and Bayazit, 2019; Sullivan and Lewis, 2001), might conflict more with work responsibilities (creating FTWC) for traditional women who consider these tasks to be their main responsibility.

Along the same lines, additional work hours as a consequence of working from home might more hinder family responsibilities (i.e., WTFC) for egalitarian women who consider their work roles to be their main identity. These findings raise the possibility that the gendered outcomes of flexible working (Chung and Van der Lippe, 2020) may only be applicable for certain groups of the population. However, to clarify this association we would need to further investigate how and why men and women with different GRAs behave differently when working from home, in terms of expending their time and energy to carry out paid or unpaid work. Future research would thus benefit from testing some moderations and/or mediations.

The paper has some limitations. First, the cross-sectional design of the study prevents us from making any causal arguments. Moreover, the relationship between working from home and work–family conflict might be reciprocal, i.e., those feelings of conflict may demand more flexible working arrangements, such as working from home (Kim et al., 2019).

Future research using longitudinal designs would help overcome this limitation. Second, as this research was conducted in Germany, which is characterized by conservative ideas and the male breadwinner model, the results may not necessarily be applicable to other more progressive countries. Thus, future studies in different contexts and considering different gender norms would be of value. Third, it would be useful to examine whether spouses' or partners' working from home, and their GRAs, may also change the association between working from home and its potential impact on work-to-family and family-to-work conflict (see also, Langner, 2018). Due to data limitations on comparable measures from partners/spouses, this study could not carry out such analyses. Similarly, given that the effect of working from home might vary depending on the context of the country (Kurowska, 2020), future research could benefit from incorporating macro-level and contextual variables into their analyses and comparing the results across different countries. Moreover, given the fact that changing work locations frequently might be especially detrimental for work–family balance, especially for women, it is important for future scholars to study this group in more detail and include this group in their analyses when comparing them to those who work from home and fixed work locations. Finally, there is some evidence from prior research showing more traditional GRAs among women who have a preschool child compared to those who do not (Harris and Firestone, 1998). Other studies show that parents' work–family conflict varies across childrearing stages, being particularly high among women with younger children (Nomaguchi and Fettro, 2018). Given this information, future research, with a sufficient sample size, could explore whether GRAs moderate the relationship between working from home and work-family conflict differently among parents vs. non-parents, and how these effects might vary further by the age of the youngest child in the household.

Our study provides additional empirical evidence that working from home, despite its advantages, can increase the level of work–family conflict (see also, Allen et al., 2013).

However, we contribute to the existing knowledge by showing that this largely depends on the gender and GRAs of the individual. In practical terms, previous studies have shown possible linkages between traditional GRAs and lower well-being (Sweeting et al., 2014). This study also provides some evidence of how traditional GRAs at the individual level may hinder some of the possible positive outcomes of working practices that could potentially benefit workers. This adds to previous findings that traditional gender norms at the country level may moderate flexible working to result in unintended negative outcomes (Kurowska, 2020). We extend this knowledge by showing GRAs at the individual level not only impact the levels of work–family conflict, but that their effects might also vary by gender and/or by the type of work–family conflict in interest (i.e., WTFC or FTWC).

Overall, this paper has provided some insights on how gender and individuals' GRAs matter in determining work–family conflict and the outcomes of flexible working practices (see also, Erdogan et al., 2019; Erden Bayazit and Bayazit, 2019; Zhao et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2019). In summary, gender and individuals' perceived ideas about gender roles matter when it comes to feelings of work–family conflict, and in how flexible working can alleviate or exacerbate these feelings. Future studies must take these issues into consideration (see, Allen et al., 2015), to better identify some of the key challenges workers face as flexible working becomes more widespread.

Notes

1. According to the wave 10 pairfam anchor codebook, changing work locations covers people with multiple work venues, such as "truck drivers, traveling salespersons, or people away on a job for installation/repairs" (Pairfam Group Wave 10 Anchor Codebook, 2019, p. 71). These occupational sectors are mostly known for their poor working conditions such as long work hours, shift work, and excess work demands, combined with lack of supervisor or colleague support, which typically lead to higher levels of job-related stress, sleep and health problems, and higher levels of work–family conflict (Hege et al., 2019; Peasley et al., 2020; Shin and Jeong, 2020; Wu et al., 2018). Due to the specific characteristics of this group, we decided to exclude this sample from our analyses. Comparing the remaining two categories

(i.e., working from home and working in fixed work locations) is consistent with the approach in prior research (Anderson et al., 2015; Golden et al., 2006; Madsen, 2006; Fonner and Roloff, 2010).

2. The coding remained the same when those who were one standard deviation above the mean (i.e., scores 4 or 5) were coded as egalitarian, those who were one standard deviation below the mean (i.e., scores 1 or 2) were coded as traditional, and those who were in between (i.e., score of 3) were coded as moderate GRAs.

3. We tested the convergent validity of this single item by showing the correlations between this single-item measure and the scale with four items. The high correlation (r=0.76) indicates the convergent validity. Moreover, we tested the predictive validity of this single item (compared to the scale with four items) by comparing the coefficient sizes when regressed on our outcome measures separately (i.e., WTFC and FTWC). First, using WTFC and FTWC as the dependent variables separately, the results showed that both full-scale and single-item measures for GRA are both significant predictors of each outcome. Specifically, using WTFC as the outcome measure, the results of the full-scale measure, $F(2, 3136) = 4.67$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = 0.022$, were almost identical for the single-item measure for GRA, $F(2, 3136) = 5.14$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = 0.021$. In addition, using FTWC as the outcome measure, the results of the full-scale measure, $F(2, 3130) = 15.23$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = 0.035$, were almost identical for the single-item measure for GRA, $F(2, 3130) = 14.68$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = 0.032$.

4. We included age squared and work hours squared in the analyses to test the nonlinear effects, but they were not significant, so we decided to drop them from the control variables.

5. While it is expected that the effect of working from home on work–family conflict varies between men and women, and based on the presence of a preschool child in the household, we constructed a combined variable between gender and preschool child living in the household. We ended up having four groups: women with preschool children (reference category), men with preschool children, women with no preschool children, and men with no preschool children. Next, we estimated additional analyses to test whether the effect of working from home on WTFC and FTWC varies by this combined variable and GRA(s). The results show that the positive effect of working from home on both WTFC and FTWC is significantly weaker among men with no preschool children compared to women with preschool children (b==-0.235, SE=0.101, p<.05; b=-0.358, SE=0.101, p<.001 respectively). In addition, the positive effect of working from home on FTWC is significantly weaker among women with no preschool children compared to women with preschool children (b=-0.225, SE=0.099, p<.05). Finally, the effect of working from home on WTFC (and FTWC) does not vary jointly by the combined variable and individuals' GRAs. Full tables showing these results are available in the Appendix (Tables C and D). The marginal effects plot (available upon request) further demonstrates that there is no evidence of any significant effect of working from home on WTFC and FTWC by GRA among women with preschool children, men with preschool children, women with no preschool children, and men with no preschool children.

6. Non-fixed daily working hours includes those who answer "company defined, partially varying daily working hours," "no formal working hours, I choose my own schedule," or "flexible working hours with a time account and a certain autonomy within this framework

regarding daily working hours." The reference category is having "fixed daily working hours (start and end time)."

7. Prior research shows evidence of some differences in terms of gender equality in paid and unpaid work between East and West Germany before reunification, but these two societies experienced some convergence in terms of gender equality after reunitication, although some differences still prevail (see Rosenfeld et al., 2004 for more details). There is also evidence from prior research that immigrants are less advantaged and have difficulty integrating into the labor market (Beyer, 2016). Considering how all these factors might impact work–family balance, we estimated multi-group analyses to see whether the main effects and moderating effects vary between East and West Germany, as well as between natives and immigrants. The results showed no difference between East and West Germany or between natives and immigrants (results available upon request). In addition, the control variables for region and ethnicity were not significant in predicting WTFC or FTWC, as shown in Tables 2 and 3.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for the Main Dependent and Independent Variables by Gender, The German Family Panel (Pairfam)

Variable name	Range	Women Mean/(SD)	Men Mean/(SD)
Dependent Variables			
WTFC	1-5	2.29* (0.92)	2.35* (0.86)
FTWC	1-5	1.61(0.64)	1.63(0.61)
Independent Variables			
Fixed work location (reference)	0-1	0.82***	0.77***
WFH	0-1	0.18***	0.23***
Moderating Variable			
TGRAs (reference)	0-1	0.13***	0.24***
MGRAs	0-1	0.26	0.28
EGRAs	0-1	0.61***	0.47***
Control Variables			
High education	0-1	0.53	0.52
Marital status	0-1	0.51***	0.43***
Age	23-47	36.73***(8.15)	35.64***(8.11)
Presence of preschool child	0-1	0.15***	0.21***
Number of children in the household	0-2	1.94***(0.88)	1.72***(0.88)
East Germany	0-1	0.29	0.28
Work hours	1-60	31.83***(12.17)	39.66***(9.54)
Nonstandard work hours	0-1	0.31	0.33
Professional/Managerial occupations	0-1	0.17***	0.27***
Household income (logged)	2.70-4.02	3.25***(0.19)	3.38***(0.20)
Spouse/partner who is employed	0-1	0.72***	0.50***
Job Workload	1-5	3.15(1.23)	3.10(1.13)
Flextime	0-1	0.54	0.56
German native	0-1	0.81*	0.84*
Temporary Employment	0-1	0.16	0.16

Note: WFH= Working from Home, TGRAs= Traditional Gender Role Attitudes, MGRAs= Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs= Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes. Standard Deviations of the continuous variables are in parentheses. Higher scores indicate higher levels of WTFC and FTWC.

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 2: Selected Coefficients Predicting Work-to-Family Conflict, from the German Family Panel (Pairfam)

	Model 1- Main Effects	Model 2- Interaction between WFH and Gender	Model 3- Interactions between WFH, Gender and GRAs
	b (SE)	b (SE)	b (SE)
Independent Variable			
WFH	-0.002	-0.123*	-0.184
	(0.040)	(0.054)	(0.106)
Moderating Variables			
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	-0.024	0.040	-0.003
	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.072)
MGRAs	-0.081*	-0.081*	-0.164**
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.064)
EGRAs	-0.185***	-0.189***	-0.238***
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.059)
Interaction Terms			
WFH* Gender		0.227***	0.068
		(0.068)	(0.189)
WFH* MGRAs			0.060
			(0.141)
WFH* EGRAs			0.091
			(0.124)
Gender* MGRAs			0.143
			(0.091)
Gender* EGRAs			0.062
			(0.083)
WFH* Female * MGRAs			0.124
			(0.237)
WFH* Female* EGRAs			0.170
			(0.209)
Constant	0.972**	0.986***	1.052***
	(0.309)	(0.309)	(0.312)
Chi-square	63.72***	61.28***	47.37***
Df	19	20	26
R^2	0.28	0.31	0.31
N	3139	3139	3139

WFH= Working from Home, GRAs=Gender Role Attitudes, MGRAs= Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs= Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes.

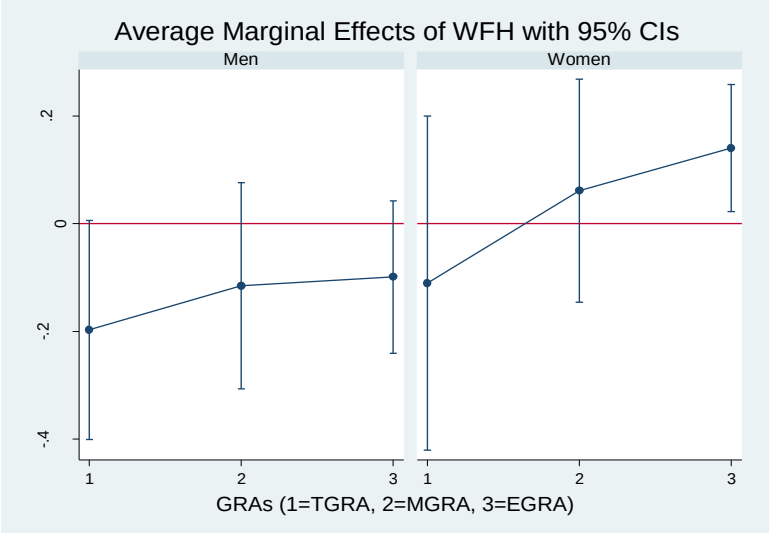
*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 3: Selected Coefficients Predicting Family-to-Work Conflict, from the German Family Panel (Pairfam)

	Model 1- Main Effects	Model 2-Interactions between WFH and Gender	Model 3-Interactions between WFH, Gender and GRAs
	b (SE)	b (SE)	b (SE)
Independent Variables			
WFH	0.096**	0.009	-0.041
	(0.030)	(0.043)	(0.085)
Moderating Variables			
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	-0.025	-0.047	-0.131*
	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.058)
MGRAs	0.017	0.017	0.001
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.052)
EGRAs	-0.100***	-0.102***	-0.150**
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.048)
Interaction Terms			
WFH* Gender		0.110*	0.455**
		(0.055)	(0.152)
WFH* MGRAs			0.034
			(0.114)
WFH* EGRAs			0.086
			(0.101)
Gender* MGRAs			0.079
			(0.073)
Gender* EGRAs			0.116
			(0.067)
WFH* Gender* MGRAs			-0.424*
			(0.190)
WFH* Gender* EGRAs			-0.394*
			(0.168)
Constant	1.993***	2.000***	2.027***
	(0.251)	(0.251)	(0.253)
Chi-square	8.85***	8.60***	6.96***
Df	19	20	26
R^2	0.05	0.09	0.11
N	3133	3133	3133

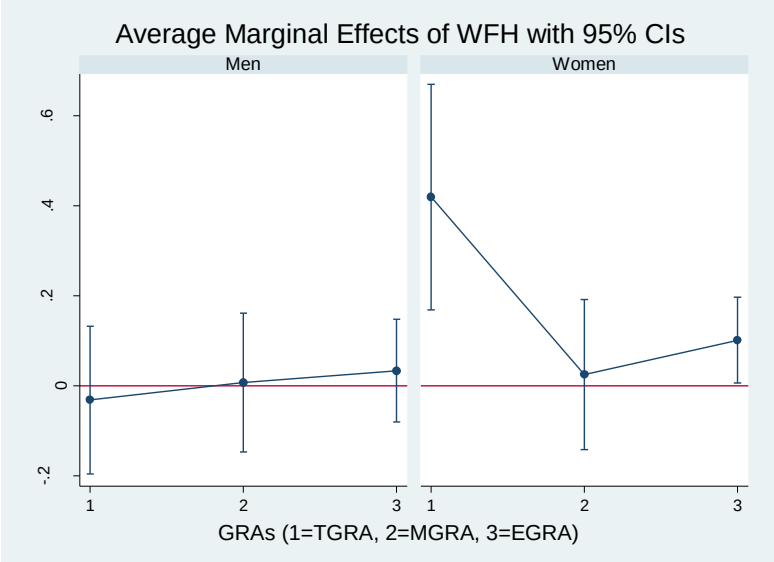
WFH= Working from Home, GRAs=Gender Role Attitudes, MGRAs= Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs= Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Figure 1: Average Marginal Effects of WFH on WTFC by GRAs among Men and Women



WFH=Working from Home, WTFC=Work-to-Family Conflict, GRAs=Gender Role Attitudes, TGRAs=Traditional Gender Role Attitudes, MGRAs=Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs=Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes.

Figure 2: Average Marginal Effects of WFH on FTWC by GRAs among Men and Women



WFH=Working from Home, FTWC=Family-to-Work Conflict, GRAs=Gender Role Attitudes, TGRAs=Traditional Gender Role Attitudes, MGRAs=Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs=Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes.

Appendix

Items for WTFC scale:

"To what extent do the following statements apply to you?
(1) Because of my workload in my job, vocational training, or university education, my personal life suffers.
(2) Even when I am doing something with my friends, partner, or family, I must often think about work.
(3) After the stress of work I find it difficult to relax at home and/or to enjoy my free time with others.
(4) My work prevents me from doing things with my friends, partner, and family more than I'd like." The answers range from 1=*not at all* to 5=*absolutely*.

Items for FTWC scale:

"To what extent do the following statements apply to you?
(1) Because I am often under stress in my private life, I have problems concentrating on my work.
(2) Because of my personal schedule, I often lack time to do my work.
(3) The time I need for my partner, family, and friends keeps me from being more involved in my job, vocational training, or university education."
(4) Conflicts in my personal life reduce my work performance." The answers range from 1=*not at all* to 5=*absolutely*.

Items for GRAs scale:

"Please tell me how strongly you personally agree with the following statements.
(1) Women should be more concerned about their family than about their career.
(2) Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women.
(3) A child aged under 6 will suffer from having a working mother.
(4) Children often suffer because their fathers spend too much time at work." The answers range from 1 (*disagree completely*) to 5 (*agree completely*). Each item (except item 2) is reverse coded so that a higher number for each item indicates more egalitarian GRAs.

Robustness checks

In additional analyses, we used the other three alternative items to measure GRAs (see Tables A and B for WTFC and FTWC respectively). Item (1) measures ideology on family-career roles, item (2) measures ideology on the division of housework, and item (4) measures ideology on paternal employment. We replicated Models 1 and 3 (from Tables 2 and 3) where we estimated the effects of working from home, after adjusting for the control variables and the interaction between working from home, gender, and each alternative measure for GRAs, respectively. The

results suggest that working from home still does not have any effect on WTFC, after adjusting for the three alternative GRA measures in separate models. For all the alternative GRA measures except for housework ideology, those with egalitarian GRAs report lower levels of WTFC compared to those with traditional GRAs. The coefficients for housework ideology do not reach significance due to the small number of individuals in the reference category (i.e., those with traditional views on housework ideology). Further, as in the main results, despite the insignificant interaction terms, there is further evidence that working from home increases WTFC among women with egalitarian GRAs (marginal effects plot available upon request). This is only the case for the ideology on family-career roles. In models predicting FTWC, the results suggest that, after controlling for alternative GRA measures, those who work from home report higher levels of FTWC. Except for housework gender ideology, those who have egalitarian GRAs report lower FTWC. In addition, there is evidence of joint interaction between gender and GRA. Specifically, the positive effect of working from home on FTWC is stronger among women with traditional GRAs compared to women with egalitarian GRAs. There is also further evidence that working from home increases FTWC among women with traditional GRAs (marginal effects plot available upon request). This is the case for both the ideology on family-career roles and the ideology on paternal employment.

Table A: Predicting Work-to-Family Conflict from the German Family Panel (Pairfam) Using Alternative GRAs Items

	Model 1-Main Effects	Model 2-Interaction between WFH and $GRAs_{alt1}$	Model 3-Main Effects	Model 4-Interaction between WFH and $GRAs_{alt2}$	Model 5 -Main Effects	Model 6-Interaction between WFH and $GRAs_{alt3}$
	b	b	b	b	b	b
	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)
Independent Variable						
WFH	-0.006	-0.045	-0.005	0.044	-0.008	-0.199**
	(0.040)	(0.152)	(0.040)	(0.252)	(0.039)	(0.070)
Control Variables						
Flextime	0.157***	0.162***	0.156***	0.161***	0.142***	0.146***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Married	-0.048	-0.045	-0.047	-0.045	-0.035	-0.033
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Work Hours	0.018***	0.018***	0.018***	0.018***	0.018***	0.018***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Preschool Child in the Household	0.040	0.036	0.039	0.038	0.041	0.040
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.041)
Age	-0.006**	-0.006**	-0.006**	-0.006**	-0.007**	-0.007**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Household Income (logged)	-0.064	-0.068	-0.067	-0.067	-0.063	-0.065
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.103)	(0.103)
Number of Children in the Household	-0.020	-0.018	-0.019	-0.018	-0.023	-0.021
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Temporary Employment	0.078	0.077	0.079	0.078	0.073	0.070
	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.040)
Higher Education	0.178***	0.181***	0.176***	0.179***	0.182***	0.185***

	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Spouse is Employed	0.014	0.015	0.014	0.016	0.020	0.016
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Nonstandard Work Schedule	0.248***	0.250***	0.247***	0.249***	0.254***	0.253***
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
East Germany	-0.074*	-0.073*	-0.074*	-0.073*	-0.038	-0.038
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Job Workload	0.257***	0.256***	0.257***	0.256***	0.254***	0.253***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Professional/Managerial Occupations	0.145***	0.145***	0.143***	0.145***	0.128***	0.130***
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.039)	(0.039)
German Native	0.024	0.023	0.022	0.022	0.038	0.037
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Moderating Variables						
Gender	0.088**	0.030	0.085**	-0.157	0.111***	-0.019
	(0.031)	(0.077)	(0.031)	(0.164)	(0.030)	(0.050)
MGRAs	-0.121***	-0.025	-0.058	-0.124	-0.104***	-0.194***
	(0.041)	(0.067)	(0.081)	(0.131)	(0.031)	(0.052)
EGRAs	-0.218***	-0.026	-0.014	-0.117	-0.323***	-0.394***
	(0.042)	(0.068)	(0.076)	(0.124)	(0.037)	(0.063)
Interaction Terms						
WFH* Gender		0.107		-0.051		0.373***
		(0.201)		(0.385)		(0.103
WFH * MGRAs		-0.019		-0.149		0.178
		(0.171)		(0.284)		(0.110)
WFH* EGRAs		-0.113		-0.170		0.062
		(0.165)		(0.257)		(0.145)
Gender * MGRAs		-0.003		0.147		0.148*
		(0.089)		(0.179)		(0.069)

Gender* EGRAs		0.036		0.214		0.130
		(0.090)		(0.167)		(0.082)
WFH* Gender* MGRAs		0.183		0.187		-0.127
		(0.229)		(0.427)		(0.154)
WFH* Gender* EGRAs		0.200		0.285		-0.174
		(0.224)		(0.392)		(0.194)
constant	1.024***	1.066***	1.040***	1.160***	1.088***	1.174***
Chi-square	62.01***	45.94***	62.04***	46.01***	67.65***	50.28***
Df	19	26	19	26	19	26
R^2	0.27	0.31	0.27	0.28	0.29	0.31
N	3139	3139	3139	3139	3139	3139

WFH: Working from Home, MGRAs= Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs= Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes.

$GRAs_{alt1}$= ideology on family-career roles, $GRAs_{alt2}$= ideology on the division of housework, $GRAs_{alt4}$= ideology on paternal employment.

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests).

Table B: Predicting Family-to-Work Conflict from the German Family Panel (Pairfam) Using Alternative GRAs Items

	Model 1-Main Effects	Model 2-Interaction between WFH and $GRAs_{alt1}$	Model 3-Main Effects	Model 4-Interaction between WFH and $GRAs_{alt2}$	Model 5 -Main Effects	Model 6-Interaction between WFH and $GRAs_{alt3}$
	b	b	b	b	b	b
	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)
Independent Variable						
WFH	0.065*	0.118	0.064*	-0.035	0.063*	-0.068
	(0.032)	(0.122)	(0.032)	(0.203)	(0.032)	(0.057)
Control variables						
Flextime	0.044	0.045	0.040	0.041	0.029	0.029
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.024)
Married	-0.069*	-0.068*	-0.067*	-0.066*	-0.060*	-0.060*
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Work Hours	-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.004**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Preschool Child in the Household	0.078*	0.074*	0.080*	0.079*	0.080*	0.079*
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)
Age	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003	-0.004*	-0.004*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Household Income (logged)	-0.139	-0.138	-0.139	-0.140	-0.139	-0.139
	(0.085)	(0.086)	(0.086)	(0.086)	(0.085)	(0.085)
Number of Children in the Household	0.022	0.024	0.022	0.023	0.020	0.022
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Temporary Employment	0.053	0.052	0.050	0.048	0.047	0.045
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Higher Education	0.077**	0.080**	0.067**	0.068**	0.069**	0.072**
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.025)

Spouse is Employed	-0.010	-0.006	-0.013	-0.012	-0.009	-0.012
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Nonstandard Work Schedule	0.040	0.041	0.039	0.039	0.043	0.044
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)
East Germany	-0.044	-0.046	-0.048	-0.048	-0.024	-0.023
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Job Workload	0.058***	0.058***	0.059***	0.057***	0.057***	0.057***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Professional/Managerial Occupations	0.108***	0.111***	0.107**	0.106**	0.095**	0.097**
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.032)
German native	0.023	0.022	0.016	0.014	0.026	0.026
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Moderating Variables						
Gender	-0.043	-0.128*	-0.041	-0.222	-0.026	-0.081*
	(0.025)	(0.063)	(0.025)	(0.132)	(0.025)	(0.041)
MGRAs	-0.070*	-0.006	0.026	-0.022	-0.065*	-0.110**
	(0.033)	(0.054)	(0.065)	(0.105)	(0.025)	(0.042)
EGRAs	-0.073*	-0.108*	0.010	-0.049	-0.206***	-0.275***
	(0.034)	(0.055)	(0.061)	(0.099)	(0.030)	(0.051)
Interaction terms						
WFH * Gender		0.195		0.572		0.151
		(0.162)		(0.310)		(0.084)
WFH* MGRAs		-0.140		0.199		0.173
		(0.138)		(0.228)		(0.090)
WFH * EGRAs		-0.091		0.029		0.114
		(0.133)		(0.206)		(0.117)
Gender * MGRAs		0.055		0.138		0.047
		(0.072)		(0.144)		(0.056)

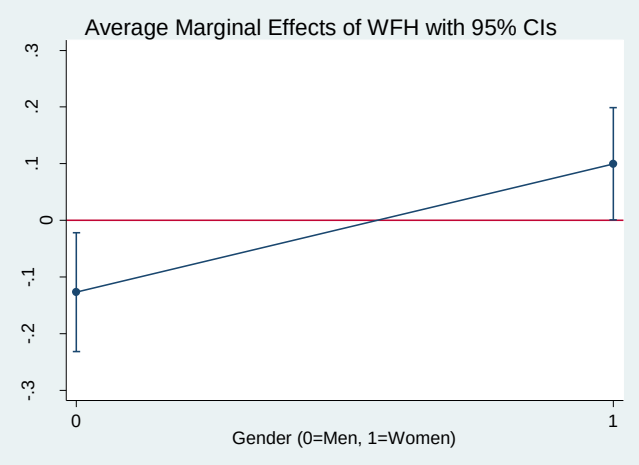
Gender * EGRAs		0.096		0.171		0.076
		(0.073)		(0.134)		(0.066)
WFH* Gender* MGRAs		-0.369*		-0.739		-0.260*
		(0.184)		(0.844)		(0.125)
WFH* Gender* EGRAs		-0.354*		-0.450		-0.247*
		(0.161)		(0.316)		(0.117)
Constant	2.063***	2.089***	2.039***	2.119***	2.104***	2.150***
Chi-square	8.00***	6.36***	7.60***	6.01***	10.19***	7.90***
Df	19	26	19	26	19	26
R^2	0.06	0.10	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.09
N	3133	3133	3133	3133	3133	3133

WFH: Working from Home, MGRAs= Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs= Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes.

$GRAs_{alt1}$= ideology on family-career roles, $GRAs_{alt2}$= ideology on the division of housework, $GRAs_{alt4}$= ideology on paternal employment.

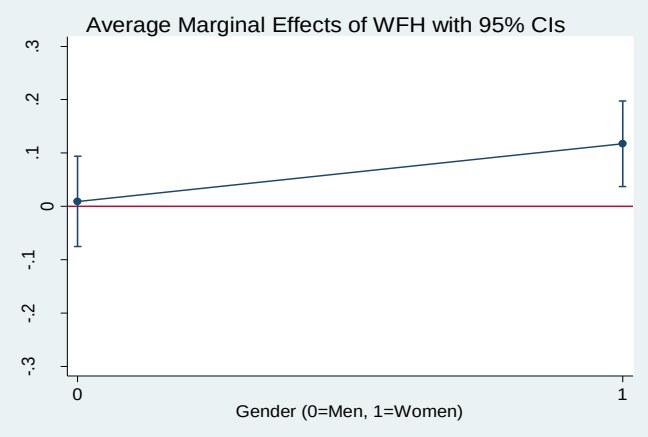
*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests).

Figure A: Average Marginal Effects of WFH on WTFC among Men and Women



WFH=Working from Home, WTFC=Work-to-Family Conflict

Figure B: Average Marginal Effects of WFH on FTWC among Men and Women



WFH= Working from Home, FTWC=Family-to-work Conflict

Table C: Predicting Work-to-Family Conflict from the German Family Panel (Pairfam) – Exploring the Joint Moderating Effects of Combined Variable between Gender and Preschool and GRAs

	Model 1-Main Effects	Model 2-Interactions between WFH and Combined Gender and PRC	Model 3-Interactions betv WFH, Combined Gender PRC, and GRAs
	b (SE)	b (SE)	b (SE)
Independent Variable			
WFH	0.001 (0.040)	0.090 (0.113)	-0.109 (0.375)
Control Variables			
Flextime	0.161***	0.167***	0.170***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Married	-0.047	-0.045	-0.049
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Work Hours	0.018***	0.018***	0.018***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age	-0.006**	-0.006**	-0.006**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Household Income (Logged)	-0.063	-0.062	-0.070
	(0.107)	(0.107)	(0.107)
Number of Children in the Household	-0.019	-0.017	-0.016
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Temporary Employment	0.078	0.077	0.075
	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)
Higher Education	0.192***	0.197***	0.196***
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Spouse is Employed	0.025	0.024	0.026
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Nonstandard Work Hours	0.253***	0.254***	0.254***
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
East Germany	-0.045	-0.045	-0.044
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Job Workload	0.253***	0.252***	0.253***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Professional/Managerial Occupations	0.162***	0.164***	0.165**
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.039)
German Native	0.042	0.042	0.043
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Moderating Variables			
Women with No PSC	-0.013	-0.012	0.146
	(0.055)	(0.061)	(0.169)
Men with PSC	-0.053	-0.009	0.343
	(0.069)	(0.079)	(0.200)
Men with No PSC	-0.140*	-0.088	0.096
	(0.060)	(0.066)	(0.169)

MGRAs	-0.077	-0.076	0.153
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.199)
EGRAs	-0.182***	-0.186***	-0.019
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.171)
Interaction Terms			
WFH* Women with No PSC		0.029	0.010
		(0.124)	(0.414)
WFH* Men with PSC		-0.177	-0.142
		(0.148)	(0.429)
WFH* Men with No PSC		-0.235*	-0.086
		(0.101)	(0.394)
WFH* MGRAs			0.180
			(0.468)
WFH* EGRAs			0.223
			(0.397)
Women with No PSC* MGRAs			-0.196
			(0.211)
Women with No PSC* EGRAs			-0.175
			(0.181)
Men with PSC MGRAs			-0.421
			(0.255)
Men with PSC* EGRAs			-0.421
			(0.220)
Men with No PSC* MGRAs			-0.289
			(0.211)
Men with No PSC* EGRAs			-0.171
			(0.182)
WFH*Women with No PSC* MGRAs			0.008
			(0.513)
WFH* Women with No PSC*EGRAs			0.035
			(0.438)
WFH*Men with PSC*MGRAs			-0.135
			(0.567)
WFH*Men with PSC*EGRAs			0.028
			(0.466)
WFH*Men with No PSC*MGRAs			-0.095
			(0.495)
WFH*Men with No PSC*EGRAs			-0.170
			(0.423)
Constant	1.197***	1.167***	1.032**
Chi-square	60.49***	53.33***	33.41***
Df	20	23	37
R^2	0.28	0.28	0.29
N	3139	3139	3139

WFH: Working from Home, PSC: Preschool Child in the Household, GRAs= Gender Role Attitudes, MGRAs= Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs= Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes.
*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table D: Predicting Family-to-Work Conflict from the German Family Panel (pairfam) – Exploring the Joint Moderating Effects of Combined Variable between Gender and Preschool and GRAs

	Model 1- Main Effects	Model 2- Interactions between WFH and Combined Gender and PRC	Model 3- Interactions between WFH, Combined Gender and PRC, and GRAs
	b (SE)	b (SE)	b (SE)
Independent Variable			
WFH	0.094**	0.305***	0.177
	(0.030)	(0.091)	(0.302)
Control Variables			
Flextime	0.043	0.047*	0.044
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)
Married	-0.065*	-0.064*	-0.066*
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Work Hours	-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.004**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Age	-0.003	-0.003*	-0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Household Income (Logged)	-0.093	-0.090	-0.092
	(0.085)	(0.084)	(0.084)
Number of Children in the Household	0.025	0.027	0.026
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Temporary Employment	0.053	0.055	0.055
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Higher Education	0.075**	0.074**	0.076**
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Spouse is Employed	-0.010	-0.009	-0.010
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Nonstandard Work Hours	0.040	0.041	0.042
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)
East Germany	-0.026	-0.025	-0.025
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Job Workload	0.057***	0.056***	0.055***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Professional/Managerial Occupations	0.111***	0.116***	0.116***
	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.034)
German Native	0.025	0.022	0.023
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Moderating Variables			
Women with No PSC	-0.109**	-0.057	-0.315*
	(0.044)	(0.049)	(0.137)
Men with PSC	-0.015	0.003	-0.220
	(0.055)	(0.063)	(0.162)
Men with No PSC	-0.078	0.001	-0.136
	(0.049)	(0.053)	(0.137)
MGRAs	0.020	0.023	-0.227

	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.161)
EGRAs	-0.100***	-0.100**	-0.282*
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.138)
Interaction Terms			
WFH* Women with No PSC		-0.225*	0.273
		(0.099)	(0.333)
WFH* Men with PSC		-0.124	0.144
		(0.119)	(0.345)
WFH * Men with No PSC		-0.358***	-0.339
		(0.101)	(0.317)
WFH* MGRAs			-0.028
			(0.377)
WFH* EGRAs			0.178
			(0.320)
Women with No PSC* MGRAs			0.345*
			(0.170)
Women with No PSC* EGRAs			0.280
			(0.147)
Men with PSC* MGRAs			0.375
			(0.205)
Men with PSC* EGRAs			0.214
			(0.177)
Men with No PSC* MGRAs			0.206
			(0.170)
Men with No PSC* EGRAs			0.125
			(0.147)
WFH* Women with No PSC* MGRAs			-0.415
			(0.412)
WFH* Women with No PSC* EGRAs			-0.578
			(0.353)
WFH* Men with PSC* MGRAs			-0.360
			(0.457)
WFH* Men with PSC* EGRAs			-0.294
			(0.375)
WFH* Men with No PSC* MGRAs			0.195
			(0.399)
WGH* Men with No PSC* EGRAs			-0.048
			(0.341)
Constant	1.997***	1.933***	2.116***
Chi-square	8.50***	8.12***	5.55***
Df	20	23	37
R^2	0.05	0.06	0.06
N	3133	3133	3133

WFH: Working from Home, PSC: Preschool Child in the Household, GRAs=Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs= Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes, MGRAs= Moderate Gender Role Attitudes. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table E: Full Models Predicting Work-to-Family Conflict, from the German Family Panel (Pairfam)

	Model 1- Main Effects	**Model 2- Interaction between WFH and Gender**	**Model 3- Interactions between WFH, Gender and GRAs**
	b (SE)	**b (SE)**	**b (SE)**
Independent Variable			
WFH	-0.002	-0.123*	-0.184
	(0.040)	(0.054)	(0.106)
Control Variables			
Flextime	0.162***	0.167***	0.167***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Married	-0.048	-0.046	-0.048
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Work Hours	0.018***	0.018***	0.018***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Preschool Child in the Household	0.051	0.052	0.052
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.042)
Age	-0.006**	-0.006**	-0.006**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Household Income (Logged)	-0.035	-0.033	-0.038
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)
Number of Children in the Household	-0.018	-0.016	-0.015
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Temporary Employment	0.080*	0.079*	0.077
	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)
Higher Education	0.196***	0.201***	0.200***
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Spouse is Employed	0.023	0.022	0.022
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Nonstandard Work Hours	0.252***	0.253***	0.255***
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
East Germany (1=Yes, 0=No)	-0.045	-0.045	-0.043
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Job Workload	0.252***	0.252***	0.252***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Professional/Managerial occupations	0.149***	0.151***	0.150***
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.039)
German Native	0.042	0.043	0.043
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Moderating Variables			

Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	-0.024	0.040	-0.003
	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.072)
MGRAs	-0.081*	-0.081*	-0.164**
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.064)
EGRAs	-0.185***	-0.189***	-0.238***
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.059)
Interaction Terms			
WFH* Gender		0.227***	0.068
		(0.068)	(0.189)
WFH* MGRAs			0.060
			(0.141)
WFH* EGRAs			0.091
			(0.124)
Gender* MGRAs			0.143
			(0.091)
Gender* EGRAs			0.062
			(0.083)
WFH* Female * MGRAs			0.124
			(0.237)
WFH* Female* EGRAs			0.170
			(0.209)
Constant	0.972**	0.986***	1.052***
Chi-square	63.72***	61.28***	47.37***
Df	19	20	26
R^2	0.28	0.31	0.32
N	3139	3139	3139

WFH= Working from Home, GRAs=Gender Role Attitudes, MGRAs= Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs= Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes.
*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table F: Full Models Predicting Family-to-Work Conflict, from the German Family Panel (Pairfam)

	Model 1- Main Effects	Model 2-Interactions between WFH and Gender	Model 3-Interactions between WFH, Gender and GRAs
	b (SE)	b (SE)	b (SE)
Independent Variables			
WFH	0.096**	0.009	-0.041
	(0.030)	(0.043)	(0.085)
Flextime	0.044	0.046*	0.044
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)
Married	-0.066*	-0.065*	-0.067*
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Work Hours	-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.004**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Preschool Child in the Household	0.088**	0.089**	0.089**
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)
Age	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Household Income (Logged)	-0.120	-0.119	-0.118
	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.085)
Number of Children in the Household	0.024	0.025	0.025
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Temporary Employment	0.053	0.053	0.052
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Higher Education	0.077**	0.080**	0.079**
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Spouse is Employed	-0.008	-0.008	-0.009
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Nonstandard Work Hours	0.041	0.042	0.042
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)
East Germany (1=Yes, 0=No)	-0.027	-0.027	-0.027
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Job Workload	0.057***	0.057***	0.056***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Professional/Managerial occupations	0.109***	0.110***	0.111***
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.032)
German Native	0.026	0.026	0.026
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Moderating Variables			
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	-0.025	-0.047	-0.131*
	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.058)
MGRAs	0.017	0.017	0.001
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.052)
EGRAs	-0.100***	-0.102***	-0.150**

	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.048)
Interaction Terms			
WFH* Gender		0.110*	0.455**
		(0.055)	(0.152)
WFH* MGRAs			0.034
			(0.114)
WFH* EGRAs			0.086
			(0.101)
Gender* MGRAs			0.079
			(0.073)
Gender* EGRAs			0.116
			(0.067)
WFH* Gender* MGRAs			-0.424*
			(0.190)
WFH* Gender* EGRAs			-0.394*
			(0.168)
Constant	1.993***	2.000***	2.027***
Chi-square	8.85***	8.60***	6.96***
Df	19	20	26
R^2	0.05	0.09	0.11
N	3133	3133	3133

WFH= Working from Home, GRAs=Gender Role Attitudes, MGRAs= Moderate Gender Role Attitudes, EGRAs= Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests).